

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. -- James Monroe

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Problems of South America Discussed

Both Geography and History Are Important Factors in Economy of That Continent Today

OLD LAND SYSTEM REMAINS

But Development of Industries Is Slowly Improving Position of the Common People of Continent

A great deal has been printed and said about South America during recent years. Prompted by the situation which has developed in Latin America as a result of the European war—editors, authors, columnists, public officials, labor leaders, and radio commentators have all had something to say about South America's problems as they relate to raw materials, barter agreements, Nazi-Fascist plots, democracy, industrial progress, Pan-American conferences, hemispheric defense, and so on.

It is a fact, nevertheless, that in spite of the wide interest in these problems of the moment, relatively few Americans have ever bothered to acquaint themselves with the basic inner problems and peculiarities of the big continent to the south of us. This has puzzled many students of South American affairs, and caused no little comment. It is our purpose in this article, therefore, not to discuss the South American Fifth Column, nor methods for strengthening trade or defense ties, but to sketch very briefly a few geographical, historical, and economic facts necessary to an understanding of South American developments as they will come up for discussion later in the year.

Closer to Europe

Everyone has a fairly clear picture of the outlines of South America. It is easy to remember. The continent resembles a huge triangle with its base running north and south along the west coast from the Isthmus of Panama to Cape Horn. Its two sides slope off toward Africa until they meet a few hundred miles south of the equator at what we know as the Brazilian "bulge." It is well to remember that the great bulk of this triangle lies not only south, but *east* of the United States. Its eastern tip, for example, lies 2,600 miles farther out in the Atlantic than New York. Its most western point lies east of Cleveland, Cincinnati, or Atlanta. This is another way of saying that South America lies closer to Europe and Africa than is generally realized.

The topography of the continent is also easy to grasp because Nature, in forming its mountains, forests, plains, and rivers, did everything in a big way. Along the western base of the triangle runs the great continental backbone, the Andes Mountains, the longest and second highest mountain chain in the world. On the Pacific side, the Andes drop quickly into the sea, leaving only a narrow and generally dry shelf for the cities and towns of Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and the Pacific coast of Colombia.

On the eastern side of the Andes, the slope is long and gradual. All year round the northeast trade winds sweep directly in from the sea across the coasts of Venezuela, the three Guianas, and the Amazon section. Over central Brazil these winds meet with the southeast trade from southern Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. These winds are heavily laden with moisture

(Concluded on page 6)



SOUTH AMERICAN SCENE—A VILLAGE IN NORTHERN ECUADOR

Exercise in Straight Thinking

BY WALTER E. MYER

Many people are asking anxiously whether the wars which are raging in so many parts of the world will bring about the collapse of civilization. A magazine article to which we refer elsewhere in this paper insists that the collapse is already under way, and that the last quarter of a century has seen a very rapid decline of civilization throughout the greater part of Europe. By way of establishing his case, the author sets forth certain characteristics ordinarily associated with advanced or advancing civilization, and argues that these conditions are vanishing. His analysis of the conditions which constitute civilized life seem quite inadequate to me, but his definition of civilization suggests the idea that others might like to do a little defining for themselves. What does civilization mean to you? How would you define it? How would you describe civilized as contrasted with uncivilized living? When you ask whether civilization may be destroyed by war, what do you have in mind? What are some of the conditions or satisfactions which deserve especially the label "civilized," and which of them may possibly be lost as a result of the current disorders in the world?

You will find it interesting and intellectually stimulating to undertake a little clear thinking about terms such as "civilization" which we so often use in a loose sense. And while you are at it, you may wish to define a few other terms. How, for example, would you define "liberty"? It implies a certain degree of freedom of action on the part of individuals, of course, but how much? Does it imply the right of a person to do as he pleases? Then there is the term "democracy." We hear a great deal about it these days. What is the meaning of the term? Is a country democratic if all adults have the right to vote at elections, or must there be a certain amount of social equality? Must all or most of the citizens actually exert influence in determining the conditions under which they live in a democratic society?

Other terms will suggest themselves to you. How clearly and satisfactorily can you define "totalitarian"? "Fascist"? "Nazi"? "Communism"? These terms are used freely by many people who have little understanding of them. You can find out how concise your knowledge is if you will sit down and undertake to write a definition. If you can't define the term, see how definitely you can describe it. You are likely to find that your ideas are somewhat hazy. But do not shrink from an attempt at understanding. This will require hard work, but no self-respecting student should dodge difficult mental operations. Too many students are tender-minded. They refuse to put their brains to the stretch. They are satisfied with mental flabbiness. The mind needs exercise if toughness of fiber is to be developed.

Activities of Fifth Columnists in U. S.

FBI and Dies Committee Investigate Subversive Groups Working Against Government

NEED FOR CAUTION URGED

Unless Care Is Exercised, Many Innocent Persons May Be Made Victims of False Accusations

It is inevitable, in times of national emergency and stress like the present, that widespread concern should prevail over the activities of persons who are working against the interests of the United States and for the interests of foreign nations. We have come to call such persons "Fifth Columnists," and during recent weeks the term "Fifth Column" has been on everyone's lips. Nor are the suspicions without foundation, for during recent months there have been numerous fires, explosions, and other disasters which look like acts of sabotage. Moreover, the Dies Committee has called dramatic attention to the activities of foreign agents in the United States who, in one way or another, have been working against this country. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, with less publicity and less hysteria, has been running down persons who might be members of the so-called Fifth Column.

The Fifth Column

Before undertaking to discover the extent of Fifth Column activities in the United States, let us see what the term means. It was one of the generals in the Spanish civil war who gave the Fifth Column its name. At the time of the siege of Madrid, he boasted that, in addition to the four columns marching against the city from the outside, a fifth column was working undercover within the city, undermining the resistance.

But the name did not come into common usage until Hitler unleashed his blitzkrieg in all its fury. Soon after the invasion of Norway, rumors began to trickle through of treason within the country, of Norwegians who secretly plotted with the Nazis for the overthrow of their fatherland, of German secret agents who worked within Norway. Then came the invasion of the Lowlands and the sudden collapse of France. Again the Fifth Column was spread across the headlines. Internal treachery was given as much credit for the downfall of these countries as military defeat. In many quarters it was said that the Fifth Column was the "secret weapon" of which Hitler had boasted by which he would secure the defeat of the western democracies.

To what extent the Fifth Column has been responsible for Hitler's victories must be left for the historians to decide. It is an indisputable fact, however, that these activities greatly aided Hitler's armies and air fleets. In every country, Hitler found individuals and groups who could be used as tools to further his aims. He would support those who opposed expenditures for armaments and who were opposed to war under any circumstances. He would encourage seditious movements—those elements of the population who had grievances against their government. During the period of inactivity, they created cells of unrest in the army and by means of propaganda spread a spirit of defeatism among civilian and military population alike. During the invasion of Belgium, Holland, and France, Fifth Columnists spread terror by starting rumors of all kinds. In his recent book,

(Concluded on page 7)



GERMAN EMIGRANTS EMBARKING FOR NEW YORK DURING THE GREAT WAVE OF EMIGRATION IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

Civil Liberties in War Emergencies

THERE are many signs that the United States may be entering a period in which less vigilance will be exercised in guarding civil liberties; in which even certain restrictions will be placed upon those liberties that are guaranteed by the Constitution. In the effort to stamp out subversive activities—discussed elsewhere in this issue of *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER*—the people may exercise so much zeal that many innocent people, holding minority or unpopular views, will be made victims of mass fear and hysteria.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

Throughout our history, there have been abridgments of civil liberties in time of war or war emergency. One of the earliest examples of repression was the Alien and Sedition Acts passed in 1798, during the administration of John Adams. A serious war crisis had developed with France and our young republic was organizing its defenses for any emergency. A number of French agents were in this country agitating and spreading propaganda.

Alien and Sedition Acts

The Alien Act, which was never enforced by President Adams, gave the chief executive the right to send from the country any foreigner whom he considered dangerous to the public peace, or whom he thought guilty of plotting against the government. The Sedition Act made it an offense "unlawfully to combine and conspire" in order to oppose the measures of the government or to prevent a federal official from doing the work of his office, or in order to "commit, advise, or attempt to procure any insurrection, riot, or unlawful assembly or combination." One section of the Sedition Act declared any speech or writing against the president or Congress "with the intent to defame" or to bring them "into contempt or disrepute" a misdemeanor punishable by fine or imprisonment.

As is frequently the case, the legitimate purpose of legislation such as this—that is, to stamp out treasonable activities against the government of the United States—miscarried and the Sedition Act was used as a political weapon against the opponents of the Federalist party. The few persons who were arrested and convicted were mostly Republican editors who bitterly opposed the policies of the Federalists. It was the Alien and Sedition Acts, more than anything else, that brought about the overwhelming defeat of the Federalist party in the presidential election of 1800.

It is generally accepted that in time of war certain restrictions upon civil liberties must be imposed in the interest of public safety, notwithstanding the constitutional guarantees. During the Civil War, there were numerous restraints imposed upon civil rights. Property was confiscated without regard to the guarantees of the Constitution. Martial law was imposed in many sections of the country, arbitrary arrests were made, telegraph messages were censored, and newspapers were suppressed. The Supreme Court later ruled that all these acts constituted a valid exercise of the war powers of the government.

During World War

The restrictions imposed upon civil liberties were rigid during the period of American participation in the World War. Newspapers and magazines which opposed the war were banned from the mails. In New Jersey, the former Socialist candidate for governor was given a five-year prison sentence and fined \$1,000 for criticism of conscription in a speech. In Iowa, a man was sentenced to 20 years in prison for opposing, in a leaflet, the reelection of a congressman who had voted for conscription. In Los Angeles, another man was sentenced to two years for saying: "This is a war fostered by Morgan and the rich." It became dangerous to discuss governmental policies except in a spirit of complete approbation. There could be little genuine discussion of public matters.

Civil liberties suffered during the World War not alone by reason of legal proceedings which now appear in many cases to have been unnecessarily severe. In numerous instances civil liberties were directly suppressed by mob violence or impaired by actions provoked by an excess of patriotic zeal. Patriotism sometimes served as a cloak for acts of violence against unpopular labor elements. Charges of disloyalty were injected into political campaigns. Even citizens prominent in the public eye used surprisingly intemperate language in denouncing individuals or actions deemed by them unpatriotic. In such an atmosphere, nourishing suspicion and the vigilante spirit, a considerable measure of indirect restraint was added to the direct curbs placed on freedom of expression. There were so many cases of mob violence against persons of unpopular views that President Wilson was moved to utter a strong warning against it. In an address delivered in July 1918, he said:

We proudly claim to be the champions of democracy. . . . I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob or gives it any sort of countenance is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer. . . . How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples if we disgrace our own by proving that it is, after all, no protection to the weak?

Our Neighbors -

GRETCHEN has read "Europe's Revolt Against Civilization," an article by William Henry Chamberlin, in the December *Harpers*, and it has made such an impression upon her that she can think of nothing else. "I've heard people talk of the danger that the war might destroy civilization," she says, "but I've never paid much attention to such alarming speculations. It has seemed impossible to me that such a thing could happen. As a matter of fact, however, it is happening."

"What do you mean by civilization," Hortense asks, "and how is it being destroyed?"

"The article I've been reading explains that," Gretchen replies. "For centuries we had been moving slowly toward a situation under which people could travel freely and safely from nation to nation, could express their views about things, had some assurance that their property would not be seized and that they would not be imprisoned by the government. Gradually people were coming to have something to say about their government. They were free to study, carry on research, and worship as they pleased. The death penalty was being abolished except for very grave offenses. There was a great deal of safety and freedom among the people. All these things taken together, we call civilization. Now all Europe is losing these advantages, gained after such a long struggle. First, the Bolshevik revolution banished them in Russia. Then the Fascist revolution destroyed them in Italy. Later the Nazi revolution destroyed them in Germany. Now the war is destroying them everywhere. Revolution and war are turning Europe toward the Dark Ages. We must try somehow to keep modern civilization alive and growing in America, but we have a hard job ahead of us."



HERE we see Frank Barclay again. He is the boy, mentioned in this column September 9, who wasted his time in high school, made poor grades, and had difficulty in finding a college which would accept him. He finally was admitted to a small college with a fair reputation, and he has been there several weeks. Now he is getting his things together, for he will soon be going home on his Christmas vacation.



Frank is thrilled and excited for two reasons. First, he is glad he will soon have a visit at home. But that is not all. He is happy because, for the first time in his life, he can really be proud of the work he has done. He was alarmed last September when he realized that his school record was so poor that the colleges with the strictest standards did not want him. He saw that he was in danger of failure in life. So he did a thing which is sometimes, though not very often, done by boys who have fallen into habits of sloth and failure. He braced up, took himself in hand, and buckled down to hard work. He was determined that he would not be a failure, and he saw that he needed to get busy at once. He has not had an easy time, for his foundations were weak in every subject. But he has worked hard and has made a fair record. And now he feels a thrill of pride such as he has never experienced before. He would not think of exchanging this sense of achievement for any of the pleasures he enjoyed during the old carefree, lazy days.

JIM BROWN is a coal miner. He lives in a small, one-street village, where there are perhaps 30 other houses, all alike, uniformly drab and uniformly sooty. His house, long unpainted, has three or four rooms, but no bathroom. It would take little initiative and slight expense to brighten up the home, but there are few inducements for him to do so. The house does not belong to him. It belongs to the mine operator by whom he is employed. At any time, for one of a dozen possible reasons, mine operations might be brought to a standstill and the miner would find himself evicted. True, the laws of the state require that he be given 30 days' notice before eviction; but before he got his job he was compelled to sign an agreement waiving his employer's obligations in that respect.

Jim's entire life is dominated by the mine company. His wages are not too bad. But he works only about 175 days a year and thus averages about \$18 a week. Of course he never sees all his pay. Some of it is taken out by the company to cover rent on the house. More may be taken out to cover bills run up at the grocery or general store. For the company not only owns Jim's home; it also owns the store where he buys his food and clothing. It is the only store in the town and now and then that fact irritates him. On those rare occasions when he goes to the nearby city he notices that groceries and other articles are somewhat cheaper than at the mine company's store. The difference is not very much. Nevertheless, he would like to save those few pennies, but he is afraid that the company might learn of his purchases elsewhere. So he swallows his resentment. At least he knows this much: if there is a temporary lull in the mine work, the company store will grant him credit to carry on until he resumes his job. And that is something for which he is thankful.

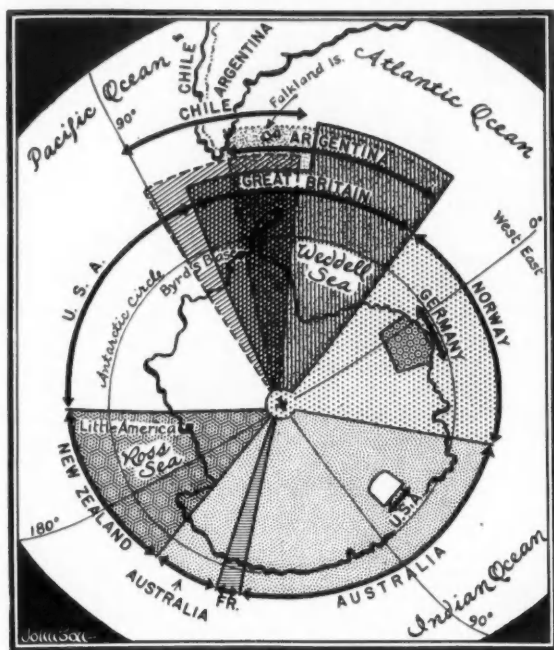


ALBERT likes his studies well enough, but he says that his life would be a monotonous affair if he spent all his time on them. He thinks one needs a variety of interests in order to avoid being bored, and he has acted in accordance with that theory. He reads a great deal, yet reading is quite a lot like his schoolwork so he doesn't want to spend too much time at it. He engages in several sports and enjoys them, but he needs still other kinds of activity. So lately he has turned to music and taken it up as a pleasant hobby.

At first he was merely a listener. He spent quite a little time with the radio, then he bought a small phonograph attachment and made a collection of records. He not only listened to the phonograph but he read about the composers. He became interested in symphonies as well as the popular music he had always liked. He has learned a great deal about music, and turns to it when he is tired of working, reading, or playing. He decided after a while that it was not enough merely to listen to music; that he would learn to play some instrument. He now has a saxophone and plays frequently, with Hortense at the piano. It is a pleasing diversion for them, and the relatives and neighbors manage to survive somehow. At any rate Albert is finding an ever-increasing number of interests and hobbies, so that he is seldom bored these days, and most of his hours pass very pleasantly. Many of Albert's friends are following his example.



Many Nations Stake Overlapping Claims to Regions of Antarctica



ANTARCTICA

BARREN, icy Antarctica is being contested by so many nations that overlapping claims have produced a very complex situation. Last month Chile made matters more difficult by claiming the region between 53 degrees and 90 degrees west longitude. Chile is nearer than any other country to this remote continent and views the slice she has claimed as a logical extension of her Andes Mountains.

The frigid climate of Antarctica and its separation from the rest of the world by the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans has kept the nations from doing much besides sending out expeditions and announcing claims.

The picture the explorers have given us is of a vast, somewhat circular continent, where massive mountain ranges tower above white, wind-swept plains. Today the country is of little value. Scientists report finding great exposed seams of coal in the frozen mountains, but it could not be mined profitably, of course. Fur seals live in the cold water along the coasts, and there are great numbers of whales. At the present time, only the \$15,000,000-a-year whaling industry produces wealth in the Antarctic.

Captain James Cook was the first to attempt these shores, and in 1773 he sailed

as far as the ice flows. Since then his countrymen have done some exploring and made it possible for Britain to claim a large part of the mainland. In 1908 the British crown declared its ownership of a wedge-shaped slice south of the Falkland Islands and began to tax the whalers who landed on the coast of the new possession. Later, with the help and encouragement of the mother country, New Zealand and Australia carved themselves generous slices of Antarctica.

Britain's 1908 claim is disputed by Argentina. She has always maintained that the Falkland Islands belong to her, and she claims most of the wedge south of the islands. Alone among the Antarctic disputants, Argentina backs up her territorial claims with permanent occupation. For the last 36 years, she has kept a meteorological observatory in the South Orkneys.

Norway beat Britain to the South Pole by just 35 days. In December 1911, Captain Roald Amundsen drove his dog sleds all the way to the Pole and unfurled the Norwegian flag over what he named King Haakon VII Plateau. In recent years a Norwegian whale-oil magnate has financed the mapping of the territory between the British-Argentine section and the Australian one, thereby enabling his sovereign to claim it. After the Nazi conquest of Norway, Major Vidkun Quisling, head of the puppet government, declared the whole Antarctic continent Norwegian.

Several months before the outbreak of war, Air Marshal Goering sent planes to Antarctica. Dropping swastika flags, the German fliers staked out a claim to 230,000 square miles, including coast which may one day serve as a whaling base. The Japanese are interested in whaling bases, too. In 1911 and 1912 they dispatched an expedition to what is now "Little America," but failed to make any claims.

The nation which has explored the South Polar regions most extensively is the United States. A young American sealer,

Information Test

Answers to history and geography questions may be found on page 8. If you miss too many of them, a review of history and geography is advisable. Current history questions refer to this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

American History

1. The chief executive of the Confederate States of America was (a) J. E. B. Stuart, (b) Stonewall Jackson, (c) Robert E. Lee, (d) Jefferson Davis.
2. The Confederate capital was (a) Charleston, South Carolina, (b) Richmond, Virginia, (c) Savannah, Georgia, (d) Nashville, Tennessee.
3. What country, in 1898, voluntarily surrendered its independence in order to join the United States?
4. What naval battle in the Civil War made all the navies of the world obsolete?
5. When did the United States buy over half a million square miles of territory for only \$7,200,000?
6. John Brown wanted Harpers Ferry because of (a) its arsenal, (b) its railway terminus, (c) its telegraph office, (d) the gold in its bank vaults.
7. In the North, during the Civil War, people suspected of Southern sympathies were called

Geography

1. What kingdom without a king is ruled by an admiral who has no navy?
2. A famous pass between Germany and Italy is named (a) Khyber, (b) St. Gothard, (c) Simplon, (d) Brenner.
3. Which of these parts of the British Empire is a dominion? (a) British East Africa, (b) India, (c) New Zealand, (d) Nigeria.
4. A country ruled by priests is (a) Iran (Persia), (b) Tibet, (c) Egypt, (d) Iraq.

5. In our hemisphere there is an island which has two independent countries on it. What is the island?
6. The Gobi is (a) an Arabian ruler, (b) a section of Arabian coast, (c) the traditional Mohammedan headdress, (d) a Mongolian desert.
7. The Land of the Rising Sun is (a) Siam, (b) China, (c) Japan, (d) Tahiti.

Current History

1. How much farther in the Atlantic does the eastern tip of South America extend than New York City?
2. Why did the South American countries develop differently, from an economic standpoint, than the North American?
3. Where did the term, "Fifth Column," originate?
4. What are some of the principal activities in which Fifth Columnists engage?
5. How did the Fifth Column contribute toward the defeat of the Lowlands and France?
6. Cite examples of the abridgment of civil liberties in the United States in time of war or war emergency.
7. Where is Antarctica and which are the principal nations with rival claims to the region?
8. What is the principal purpose of the Walter-Logan bill?
9. For what purpose did the United States government make its latest loan to China?

Nathaniel Brown Palmer, was the first man to see the mainland. In the last 17 years, Admiral Richard E. Byrd and Lincoln Ellsworth have surveyed a great deal of territory. Admiral Byrd has developed a modern type of exploration which co-ordinates ships, planes, radio, dog sleds, and an enormous snow cruiser in a very effective way. At "Byrd's Base" and "Little America," he has established the two bases of the United States Antarctic Service and has left 59 bewildered explorers to find out all they can about the land in between. Both he and Lincoln Ellsworth, who has mapped large areas by aerial photography, have claimed extensive territory for our country. So far the government has declined to take any official action.

♦ SMILES ♦



"I don't know about this, Martha. He keeps saying, 'My! My! What won't they think of next!'"
GERARD IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

Grocer: "Aren't you the same boy who was here two weeks ago asking for a job?"
"Yes, sir."
"Didn't I tell you I wanted an older boy?"
"Yes, and that's why I'm here now."
—COMMERCE GUSHER

"So that son of yours plays halfback on the school team?"
"Perhaps that's it, although I once heard someone say that he was a great drawback."
—Montreal Star

"Fifteen minutes after putting on a pair of your socks, I made a hole in one," wrote a golfer to the sock manufacturer.—GARGOYLE

Salesman: "I say, sonny, is your mother at home?"
Boy: "Yes, sir."
Salesman (after knocking in vain): "I thought you said she was at home?"
Boy: "Yes, sir, but I don't live here."
—GRIT

"What kind of dog is that?"
"He's a police dog."
"He doesn't look like a police dog to me."
"Nope—he's in the secret service."
—SELECTED

The absent-minded man stood in front of a mirror an hour trying to remember where he had seen himself before.
—JINX

♦ Vocational Outlook ♦

Accountancy

THE term accountant, as popularly used, covers a wide range of jobs. And at the outset it is necessary to distinguish between the accountant and the bookkeeper. The terms are frequently confused because of the relationship existing between the two. There are a great many bookkeepers who classify themselves as accountants. A thoroughgoing knowledge of bookkeeping is basic to the accountant's work, but it does not follow that the bookkeeper is an accountant.

The bookkeeper is concerned with recording the routine transactions of a business firm. The accountant's work, on the other hand, consists of many complex operations, calling for high skill and the most advanced training. In many respects, the accountant is a business executive, acting as an adviser on a number of financial matters. He must understand all financial operations of the company, decide upon systems of bookkeeping, analyze and audit the records, prepare tax returns, and be able to detect fraud whenever and wherever it occurs.

Accountants find two principal sources of employment. They may find jobs with

corporations whose business is so extensive that they can afford to keep one or more accountants in steady work. Or the accountants may have offices of their own and have as clients a number of small firms whose books they audit from time to time.

The young man interested in this field may want to set as his goal the rank of certified public accountant, or C.P.A., as he is commonly referred to. The C.P.A. stands at the top of the profession. In order to obtain the C.P.A. certificate, one must pass a rather severe examination. Of all the C.P.A.'s, only about a fourth succeeded in passing the examination the first time. More than a third of them were obliged to take the examination more than twice before passing.

Only a relatively small number of all those who classify themselves as accountants are C.P.A.'s. Most young men complete their courses in accountancy and then obtain jobs as junior accountants with a view to becoming C.P.A.'s later on, after they have acquired more proficiency through a period of training. Such positions are generally of a routine na-

ture and may consist of little more than advanced bookkeeping operations.

The earning possibilities of accountants are comparable to those of lawyers. Initial salaries are low, but in the upper brackets they are relatively high. The average junior accountant will probably begin at \$100 a month or less. The certified public accountant, in normal times, may make between \$7,000 and \$8,000 a year. Skilled accountants, whether C.P.A.'s or not, commonly receive between \$4,000 and \$5,000 a year.

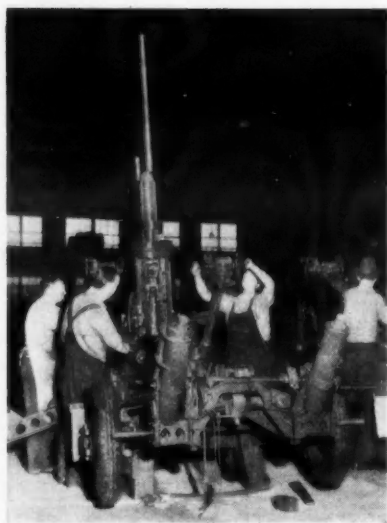
Those who are considering accountancy as a career should prepare themselves for a long grind. They should begin their training early. In high school, they should take all the courses offered in arithmetic, bookkeeping, commercial law, mathematics, and related subjects. One who does not excel in these subjects would do well to turn to some other field than accountancy. An unusually high degree of accuracy and a capacity for painstaking detail are essential to success. The prospective accountant should also strive for such traits of character as unflinching honesty, absolute dependability.

The Week at Home

Aid for China

The first major move in world affairs made by President Roosevelt since his reelection was the granting of a \$100,000,000 loan to China. It came immediately after Japan ratified the peace treaty she had concluded last spring with the Wang Ching-wei government she supports at Nanking. Her action was interpreted in Washington as an indication that she intended to pursue her course of aggression in China, and counter-moves were promptly made to demonstrate the displeasure of the United States. Secretary of State Cordell Hull told the press of his strong disapproval of Japan's action in recognizing the Wang Ching-wei regime, and the loan expressed the same feeling in a more forceful manner.

Half of the total sum consists of a credit opened by the Export-Import Bank. It is to be repaid in shipments of wolframite (an ore from which tungsten is obtained), antimony (a brittle metal used as an alloy), and tin. The other \$50,000,000 was made available for the purpose of supporting China's currency.



FOR ANTI-AIRCRAFT DEFENSE

In this 37 millimeter gun, the United States is claimed to have developed the best anti-aircraft gun in the world.

The new credits bring the financial assistance we have given China in the last two years to \$186,000,000. This sum seems small when compared with the terrific cost of war, but it means more to China than it would to a European nation. The Chinese are waging a "poor man's war," and they can make an American dollar go a long way.

Draft Rejections

Incomplete returns from selective service in the nine corps areas of the Army indicate that of the 14,500 men who received the first call to report for training, about 15 per cent have been rejected for physical disability. In some corps areas the percentage was as low as 10 and in others as high as 25. Although full details are not yet available, it seems probable that bad



PRIORITIES BOARD

With pressure arising for early delivery on government defense orders, the priorities board, an adjunct of the National Defense Advisory Commission which is empowered to enforce right-of-way on government contracts, is coming into greater prominence. Left to right: Edward R. Stettinius, William S. Knudsen, Leon Henderson, and Donald Nelson, head of the priorities board.

teeth and poor eyesight will rank high among the causes of rejection.

Two physical examinations are ordered for the drafted men. First those who are called are examined by physicians working with the local draft boards. The men who pass the preliminary examination are sent on to Army induction centers where they are examined again. Since the doctors who have volunteered their services to the draft boards are naturally not as familiar with Army requirements as medical officers are, some of the men who passed the first examination are sure to be rejected at the second.

After the draft has run for a year or two, the tabulated results of these physical examinations will prove interesting and informative. World War conscription told the nation much it would not otherwise have known about the physical condition of its people. For example, the difference between boys from the country and from the city was shown by the fact that 100,000 country boys would provide, on an average, 4,790 more soldiers than a like number of youths from cities. The best showing was made by the middle west; the worst, by the northeast and the far west.

No Sabotage?

No wave of sabotage is threatening American production today, says Edward A. Tamm, assistant director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and head of the bureau's investigative division. He points out that in 1939, long before the sabotage cry was raised, the fires in our manufacturing establishments averaged 1,975 a month, and the explosions averaged 875 a month. He feels that the number of plant disasters we have had recently is no greater than should be expected, considering the inexperienced labor now being employed and the speeding up of production.

But the FBI is not resting on its oars simply because it does not believe that matters have gone out of hand. Its policy is to put foreign agents on its suspect list and keep them under constant surveillance. In order to improve its methods of fighting wartime sabotage and espionage, the FBI sent two of its men to England several weeks ago. They will return about the first of the year and summarize what they have learned of British methods for the benefit of the FBI's National Police Academy, the institution to which police officers from all over the country come for instruction in law enforcement. Their material will be used, also, in the retraining courses which all special agents of the bureau are required to take periodically.

The Friends in Europe

The war which has brought Europe so much suffering also makes it difficult to help the sufferers. The Society of Friends, otherwise known as the Quakers, however, has a long tradition of helpfulness in time of distress, and it is continuing its work in spite of all handicaps.

At present the American Friends Service Committee is caring for 35,000 children in unoccupied France. In the same country it supports 13 colonies of refugees. Buying food for these people is a very complicated business. The British blockade makes it impossible to import any food except from neighboring countries and through the Mediterranean. Milk comes from Switzerland; fish and sugar from Portugal; rice from Egypt. Until recently olive oil was obtained from Greece.

One of the most difficult problems facing the Friends in France is the securing of foods which will prevent rickets in children. The Committee on this side of the water is endeavoring to help by sending via trans-Atlantic plane to Lisbon, Portugal, five-gallon cans of concentrated vitamins. Each can provides a million doses of vitamins.

But the American Friends do not confine their work to France. They are conducting a refugee school in the Netherlands, and they have centers in Amsterdam, Holland, and Copenhagen, Denmark. In Berlin they are still doing what they can for people who wish to leave Germany. On the other side of the world, too, in China and Japan, the Friends have their representatives.

The American Friends Service Committee does not campaign for funds. It simply follows its old policy of representing in an effective way those individuals and organizations which desire to assist the victims of war and other disasters.

Alligator Tanks

The Navy considers Donald Roebling's amphibian tanks so successful that it has ordered 200 of them.

In the course of the last few years, Mr. Roebling has built two "alligator tanks" for experimental purposes. The more recent one is an 8,000-pound monster 20 feet long and eight feet wide. It is ca-

pable of making 25 miles per hour on land and eight and a half in the water. When afloat the tank propels itself by means of paddles mounted on the caterpillar treads, and the paddles are placed sufficiently close together to act as cleats in traveling on land.

Since it is able to run either on land or through the water, the alligator cannot be stopped by a combination of the two in the form of a marsh. Its inventor has tried it out in swamps where a land vehicle would stick fast and no boat could possibly make its way. His amphibian waddled around in the mire without the slightest difficulty. It plowed through weeds and slime, pushed over trees up to eight inches in diameter, and climbed over the trunks.

Admiral Leahy

The appointment of Admiral Leahy as United States ambassador to France gives a new mission to an officer who has served his government for 43 years.

William Daniel Leahy was born at Hamilton, Iowa, May 6, 1875. He attended school at Ashland, Wisconsin, and dreamed of a career in the Army, but when his congressman informed him that no appointments to the Military Academy were available he accepted one to the Naval Academy. He received his commission as an ensign the year before the



H. & E.
ADMIRAL LEAHY

war with Spain, and since that time he has participated in every war and practically every naval campaign.

He was aboard the *U. S. S. Oregon* when she made her historic 14,000-mile run around the Horn to take part in the battle of Santiago de Cuba. He fought the Philippine insurrectionists. He was on the China station during the Boxer outbreak. He was naval chief of staff of the Nicaraguan Occupation in 1912 and of the Haitian Campaign of 1916. During the World War he obtained his captaincy and was awarded the Navy Cross for his work in transporting troops to France.

In 1927 he was made chief of the bureau of ordnance with the rank of rear admiral. He was promoted to admiral in 1936, and next year received the highest post in the Navy, that of chief of naval operations.

Immediately after his retirement, August 1, 1939, he was named governor of Puerto Rico. The island's defense role and the serious nature of its economic problems made the assignment an important one. Well informed in nonprofessional matters, especially in the field of economics, the new governor proved himself what his friends called a "cold logician."



GETTING READY

Inauguration Day is over a month away but work on the inaugural stand in front of the Capitol is already well advanced.

The American Observer

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

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The Week Abroad



SEA SWEEPERS

These Swedish seamen engage in a ticklish undertaking as they gently propel an unexploded mine toward shore. Many drifting mines have been found in Swedish waters.

Chaos in Rumania

Not long after the World War, a motley group of Rumanian university students, embittered war veterans, and impoverished landowners banded together in what they called the "Legion of the Archangel Michael," an organization which at first resembled the Ku Klux Klan, but later turned into a fascist organization calling itself the Iron Guard.

For years the Iron Guardists failed to make much impression in Rumanian politics. But with the rise of Hitler and the spread of anti-Semitism in southeastern Europe, they began to emerge as an important force. A few years ago it seemed for a time that they would succeed in gaining control of the government and imposing a Rumanian version of Nazi rule upon the country. They failed. By acting quickly and executing 14 leaders, including Zelea Codreanu, in November 1938, King Carol crushed the movement for a time. But as German military successes caused the Allies to withdraw diplomatic and financial support from southeastern Europe, the Iron Guard began to rise again, initiating a campaign of terrorism which compelled King Carol to abdicate his throne and flee the country, several months ago.

But while the Iron Guard was pro-Nazi, it was also violently nationalist. When Germany brought about the partition of Rumania, early this fall, the Iron Guard turned in fury against the Germans, but dared to take no direct action, fearing merciless German reprisals. As German troops continued to move into Rumania as "instructors" week after week, as the country lay helpless, weakened by its great loss of territory, and with its political power in other hands, the rage of the Iron Guard mounted steadily.

Recently the Iron Guard struck out at all its enemies except the Germans. As we go to press, hundreds have been shot, and the disorders are bordering upon civil war. Why Premier General Antonescu has been unable to end these disorders, and why the German army in Rumania has refused to take a hand in the matter are questions to which most observers cannot yet find a satisfactory answer.

Italy's Plight

While the retreat of the Italian armies in Albania continues on a scale approaching in magnitude the great defeat at Caporetto, during the World War, the Germans have begun to show increasing signs of concern over the plight of their ally. They are not worried over the outcome of the Italo-Greek war. That conflict, they admit, has caused Mussolini's prestige as a conqueror to sink to new lows while at the same time it has enabled Britain to establish strong bases in Greece and on the Greek islands,

and to draw her far-flung blockade even tighter. But sooner or later, the Germans feel, Greece will be crushed, with or without the help of the German army.

Italy's real troubles run deeper. They stem from Mussolini's mistaken impression of last June to the effect that the war would be very short. Accordingly he plunged Italy into the conflict with little or no reserves of cotton, wool, rubber, oil seeds, cereals, or meats. As a result, shortages of these commodities are becoming very acute. Although food is already severely rationed, its consumption is being even more rigidly curtailed until it now affects spaghetti, the great Italian staple. Food prices have soared 33 per

cent since the war began. According to a recent survey of the U. S. Department of Agriculture:

Almost total depletion of Italy's cotton reserves is expected by the end of 1940. Supplies of rubber, jute, and wool may not last much longer. Imports from Germany may make up a part of the deficiency in Italian sugar production. The admixture of Italian rice and beans in bread-making may partially solve the problem of the wheat shortage. With respect to fats, oil, and meats, however, . . . the situation is likely to become critical with a continuation of the blockade.

Oldest University

Some Americans may be surprised to learn that the oldest university in the Western Hemisphere is not in Cambridge, nor in New Haven. Sixty-nine years before the Pilgrims reached Plymouth Rock, the University of San Marcos was founded in the sunny hills of Lima, then the capital from which the viceroy of Peru governed a large part of South America in the name of the Spanish king.

Last summer, 54 American students and teachers attended the "winter" session of the University of San Marcos. Others will attend the "summer" session, which begins in January. This, of course, is only one phase of the general exchange system under which students from the United States are encouraged to enroll at universities in Latin America (chiefly at San Marcos, at the University of Bogota, Colombia, and at the University of Chile, in Santiago), while Latin Americans are likewise encouraged to pursue their studies in the United States, thus strengthening the social and cultural bonds between the two continents. There are still relatively few students from the United States enrolled in Latin American colleges, but since the European war has forced a great many Latin-American fami-

lies to abandon their long-established custom of sending their sons to school in Europe, students from south of the Rio Grande have been coming to this country in increasing numbers. This year, 1,394 Latin-American students have enrolled in 158 universities in the United States.

More Aid for Britain

With the mass-produced German submarines continuing to take a heavy toll of British shipping and with Nazi bombers directing their attacks upon the industrial centers of the island, the British government has apparently decided to abandon its mood of easy optimism with regard to the outcome of the war. A few months back, officials in London spoke confidently of the time when Britain would take the offensive against Germany; of the time, in fact, when British troops landed on the continent, would seek to push the Nazi forces back beyond the Rhine.

The optimism was not wholly self-delusion. It was aimed partly toward the United States. If the chances of a British victory seemed good, London reasoned, more aid would be rushed from the United States. Now the British feel that reassuring statements had the opposite effect upon the United States. Instead of resulting in an increase of shipments, it retarded American munitions production by encouraging the sentiment that Britain's situation was not serious enough to justify extraordinary measures.

Now, in an effort to impress America with the urgency of the war, the British are being more outspoken about their losses. They are admitting that losses in merchant vessels have reached a dangerous level and that, unless replacements can be provided by the United States, the British people will be menaced by a counter-blockade of Nazi submarines and surface raiders. They are conceding, too, the destructive effect upon their own war production of the incessant Nazi air raids which in the last month have been carried out systematically against industrial centers.

White Elephant Moves

Back in the eighteenth century, when the powers of Europe were still staking off their Far Eastern empires, Britain and France agreed—for the sake of peace—to leave the semitropical Kingdom of Siam untouched in order that it might serve as a "buffer state" between their respective territories in southeastern Asia. This agreement permitted that strange, quiet little land of white elephants, cats, bells, rice fields, tin, rubber, cotton and immense ornate palaces to retain its independence down to the present time with only one important change—that of the name Siam to Thailand, which was effected a year and a half ago. In 1907, however, France added the districts of Cambodia and Laos



SWISS ARMY GUARDS

Switzerland is one of the few countries in Europe which have so far succeeded in remaining out of war. The Swiss have a small but efficient army, well trained in mountain combat.

to French Indo-China at the expense of the Siamese. There was anger in Bangkok, the Siamese capital, at the time, but in later years the incident seemed to have been forgotten.

Last week, Thailand's little-used army of 50,000 men began to move across the border into the northwestern portion of French Indo-China. Its objective, as announced in Bangkok, was to right the wrong done Siam by France, in 1907. Its immediate reason for invading, the Siamese said, was a succession of French bombing attacks on Siamese border towns during recent weeks.

Mysterious Weygand

As we have noted in previous issues of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, the fact that General Maxime Weygand has gone to North Africa and refused to obey orders that he return to France has given a new twist to the situation in the western Mediterranean. Weygand, although 74 years old, is a man of great prestige in the colonies. Aside from Pétain himself, he is perhaps the only man in France capable of uniting French North Africa for or against Vichy. He is a man both respected and feared, one of the shrewdest, and perhaps most ruthless generals in the French army.

Weygand is a Belgian, by birth. His family connections are thought to be very high, but they have never been openly divulged. He passed through St. Cyr (the French West Point), graduating at the early age of 20, and then moved with astonishing rapidity up through the ranks of the French army to become chief of staff under Foch, during the World War.

Weygand is credited with having executed some of the most difficult or painful tasks which the French have undertaken since the World War. He is credited with having shot Russians in France to keep the Communist revolution from spreading to the French army; with having stopped the Soviet advance on Warsaw, in 1920; with having used ruthless methods to suppress the rebellious Rifis in North Africa, during the early twenties. When the present war broke out, Weygand began to organize the powerful French land forces in the Near East, but was recalled to France to replace his rival, General Gamelin, in a futile attempt to stop the Germans after their break-through at Sedan.

A devout Catholic, imbued with strongly conservative (some say monarchist) political leanings, Weygand is aloof, tight-lipped, and not given to advertising his plans.



GENERAL MAXIME WEYGAND



OLDEST UNIVERSITY

The National University of San Marcos, founded in Lima in 1551, is the oldest university in the Western Hemisphere.

South America and Its Many Peoples

(Concluded from page 1)

which dissolves into rain on the eastern slopes of the Andes, and flows back to the Atlantic in the form of three great river systems. There is the Orinoco, flowing northeast and emptying into the Atlantic along the coast of Venezuela. There is the great Amazon, somewhat to the south, and the Plate River system, flowing southeast through Paraguay, southern Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina.

Three Vast Plains

To complete the general picture of the South American continent, mention should be made of the three vast plains east of the Andes, each of which is separated from the other by hills and low mountains. The lowlands of the Orinoco are known as the *Llanos*, so large in area that they could contain the British Isles twice. Then, in Brazil, there are the heavily forested *Selvas*, the Amazon basin. Finally, still further south is the famous *Pampas*, the wide, grassy flatlands of the River Plate, which extend a thousand miles north and south in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. This region appears barren in the dry season, but is blanketed with thick grass and flowers in the season of the rains. The southern part of the continent, from Buenos Aires on down, is generally cool, unfertile, and hilly.

It is interesting to note that most of the 10 republics of South America have formed themselves around some single geographic unit. The mountains and rivers have played a large part in this grouping. Chile, Ecuador, and Peru, for example, share the narrow western shelf of the Andes, and communicate very little across the mountains with the republics to the east. Colombia occupies the valley of the Magdalena River; Venezuela the Orinoco Valley, while Brazil sprawls over the vast area drained by the Amazon. Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay share the River Plate basin, and for that reason are often grouped together. Bolivia is a special case, for here a relatively few whites live among many Indians on a high plateau, the chief value of which is its relatively cool and dry climate. Landlocked, and without any satisfactory river outlet to the sea, Bolivia enjoys no special economic advantage, and for that reason has long been at odds with its neighbors, Peru, Chile, Paraguay, and Brazil.

Extending from the Caribbean almost as far south as the Antarctic Circle, South America contains a variety of climates. Generally, it can be said that the northern lowlands are hot and muggy, while the southern regions are cool and dry. And within its confines, spread over an area two and one-third times the size of the United States, is a variety also of natural resources. It is not quite true to say that South America is "rich" in natural wealth—not as compared with Europe, North America, and the East Indies, that is. But it is moderately well off, and its potential wealth is large.

Many Products

The metals and minerals of South America are generally found in the western mountains, and it is not surprising, therefore, that Peru, Chile, Bolivia, and Colombia are known chiefly as producers of mineral products. Chile is famous for its nitrates and copper; Bolivia for its tin and copper; Peru, for vanadium and bismuth. There is platinum in western Colombia and oil as well. The eastern countries, along the river basins and coastal lowlands, are better known for their agricultural and forest products. Brazil, as everyone knows, supplies the world with three-fifths of its coffee and with large quantities of cotton, cocoa, hardwoods, fruits, and other tropical products. Argentina and her satellite states (Uruguay and Paraguay) are exporters of corn, wheat, chilled beef, and hides in enormous quantities.

This is just the general picture, of course. During the last two decades many exceptions to the rule have cropped up.

Peru and Ecuador, for example, are now important producers of cotton and cocoa respectively, these two crops being the chief source of revenue in both nations. Brazil, long thought of as an agricultural state, is now known to be one of the greatest reserve stores of iron and coal in the world. Colombia and Venezuela (which are usually considered to be Caribbean, rather than strictly South American states) have long since turned away from bananas and other tropical fruits, as their chief source of revenue, to petroleum, which each now produces in vast quantities, Venezuela being the third largest oil-producing nation in the world. At the same time, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay

brutal methods to obtain it. Whereas the North American settlers either fought or lived side by side with the some 350,000 Indian natives they found living there, the Spaniards and Portuguese entertained very different ideas. They found perhaps 35,000,000 Indians living in Latin America. Where they could do so they conquered and enslaved these Indians, and lived among them as exploiters.

A Feudal System

Later, with the permission of their sovereigns, they established huge plantations, and forced the natives to work them. The landowners themselves began to drift back to European capitals to spend the wealth

to change matters, the landowners forgot their differences and ruthlessly suppressed the dissatisfied poorer classes.

This, of course, is all history, but its effect on South America today is great. In every country on that continent (with the possible exception of Chile) the old land system and the division between classes remain. There are between 88,250,000 and 90,000,000 people living on that continent today, but the great bulk of the good land is owned by a class representing only seven per cent of the total. Where mines, railroads, and factories have been built, funds have been recruited largely from abroad. Thus the agriculture of the continent is dominated by a small land-owning class, while mining, industry, and transport are dominated by foreign capital. These two powerful group interests have combined to control the governments. They have not encouraged progressive movements, and attempts to provide education for all have been undertaken in a half-hearted spirit.

Different Governments

Just as there are exceptions to every other rule, there are exceptions to this one. Control by landowners is not as rigid in some states as in others. In Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru it is very strong. In Venezuela, Argentina, and Uruguay it is moderate. In Colombia and Chile, something approaching democracy exists. This is particularly true in Chile, where a Popular Front government has managed to remain in power for about two years.

There is one encouraging development in South America today. It is the tendency to do away with the old one- or two-crop (or one- or two-mineral) systems, which worked well only while high prices could be obtained for the particular product or products upon which each country depended.

Most governments in South America are now striving to create a more balanced economy within their own borders. Brazil, for example, has for several years been limiting coffee production, and attempting to divert the efforts of coffee growers into other channels, while improving transportation facilities and encouraging the establishment of manufacturing plants. Hand in hand with this movement is a tendency to whittle down the size of big estates, and to make more land available to the peasant classes. As a result, the purchasing power of the great mass of people is rising slowly, and with it a certain measure of political power. A new class of industrial workers is also coming into being, and something resembling a labor movement is taking shape in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and in the two petroleum-producing states, Colombia and Venezuela.

It is from these two classes, the peasants and industrial workers, that the chief support for democracy in South America is coming. And it is in these classes and in their expanding earning power that one of the most promising markets for the products of the United States is developing. This is a subject which will be discussed later in the pages of *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER*.

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SOUTH AMERICA

are beginning to uncover and develop their own mineral resources. Thus each country is beginning to broaden the base of its own economy, and to strengthen itself by becoming just so much less dependent upon one crop or one mineral.

The People

But this brings us to another factor in South American problems—the people of the continent. The manner in which the continent has been settled and governed by Europeans has exerted a powerful and individual influence upon the development of South America, and upon conditions in it today.

A European civilization was established in Latin America a whole century before any serious attempts were made to settle North America. But the Spaniards and Portuguese who filtered into the lands of the south did not come to the New World for the same purposes as the North American settlers. The English and French in North America came, many of them, to escape economic, religious, or political persecution. They came to work the land themselves and to establish permanent homes for themselves.

The Spanish and Portuguese settlers of Latin America, on the other hand, consisted largely of adventurers in search of wealth. They wanted to get rich quickly, and they did not hesitate to use the most

they had accumulated. Thus a feudal system began to take shape, in which a small but tightly knit class of European landowners ruled over millions of people who ranked as little more than slaves. And thus, the basis of a class system was laid, the remnants of which are still very strong today. On top there are the Europeans, on the bottom the Indians. In between, but ranking closer to the Indians than to the Europeans, are the *mestizos*, the Indians with some white blood.

One exception to this system developed in Brazil, the only Portuguese settlement, where the adventurers were unable to get Indians to work for them. In their place, the landowners imported so many African slaves that the blacks outnumbered the whites three to one just a little more than a century ago.

In the nineteenth century there was a long succession of wars for independence. One by one the Spanish colonies broke their ties of allegiance with the Spanish crown and established themselves as independent states. But these were not revolutions. They did nothing to change the essential character of the land and class system. And the same is true of most of the revolts which have occurred in South America since the wars of independence. They merely represented struggles between various groups of landowners. Whenever the Indians or poorer classes attempted



THE DIES COMMITTEE LISTENS TO TESTIMONY CONCERNING UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

The Fifth Column in America

(Concluded from page 1)

Suicide of a Democracy, Heinz Pol gives the following account of the effect of the Fifth Column upon millions of average Frenchmen:

These confused Frenchmen who failed to understand the reasons for the events in Europe, and despaired of there being any reason left in the world, were the first to suffer complete psychic collapse in the spring of 1940. They gave up their cause as lost before it was actually lost. They had neither blown up bridges nor engaged in sabotage in factories nor betrayed military secrets to people who were in the service of Hitler. They had merely fallen victims of a propaganda machine that had done its work so well and so quietly that they had not even become aware of its existence. They were the passive members of the Fifth Column.

Problem in U. S.

But is there really a Fifth Column in the United States? If so, how dangerous is it? In what activities is it engaged? How many members are there? These are important questions for the people of the United States, for if there are large numbers of persons working against this country and government, steps must be taken to deal with them.

In studying this problem, the intelligent citizen will seek out the facts. He will not be swept off his feet by a wave of hysteria seeing spies and Fifth Columnists everywhere he turns. There is always danger that people will go to extremes when confronted by a problem of this kind; that they will act impetuously and that they may even resort to violence. Intelligent people will realize that "Fifth Columnist" has become an effective label to pin on persons with whose views they do not agree. It is much easier to call a person a Fifth Columnist than it is to answer his arguments calmly and intelligently. Just as many persons with liberal views have in the past been branded as "Reds," "Communists," "Fascists," "Nazis," and so on, now the label "Fifth Columnist" is being pinned onto those who share views which are opposed to our own. Many people in this country have been branded as Fifth Columnists whose patriotism, whose devotion to the United States, whose integrity are beyond reproach, merely because they have advocated public policies with which others did not agree.

After making the necessary allowances for exaggerations and for the loose and improper use of the term, the fact remains that there are Fifth Column activities in the United States; that is, there are people here who are more interested in other governments than in our own, who would like to weaken the United States, and who would do what they could to bring about this country's defeat if it were at war with Germany, Italy, Japan, or with Soviet Russia.

There are many others who sympathize less strongly with foreign nations. There are, for example, Americans of German descent or birth who still love the fatherland, and who sympathize with Germany in her war against England, but who are loyal to the United States and would not wish this country to be defeated, even by Germany. There are also Italian-Americans, Japanese-Americans, and Russian-Americans whose loyalties are somewhat divided. There are

communists who would like to see the American form of government destroyed; whose loyalties are to Russia rather than to this country.

But there is probably an even larger number of persons of foreign birth or descent whose patriotism and loyalty to this country is unquestioned and deep-rooted. There are thousands of Germans of German birth in the United States who are anti-Nazi and as much opposed to Hitler and Nazism as any Americans are. Similarly, there are thousands of Italians who dislike Mussolini and fascism. Many of these have fled to this country from the Nazi and Fascist terror in order to enjoy the security and freedom of this democracy and they have an undying devotion to American institutions.

It is, therefore, very difficult to determine how many persons there are in the United States who are active enemies, who may properly be called Fifth Columnists. Representative Martin Dies is quoted as having said that there are 6,000,000 persons in this country who are members of "foreign organizations" controlled by the governments of Germany, Italy, or Russia. This is a surprisingly large number and must include many individuals who are not consciously opposed to the United States government and who would not take any action against it. Others have placed the number much lower, however. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the approximate number of persons who might properly be classified as Fifth Columnists.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation holds that there is no way to determine how many Americans are disloyal, and that much harm comes from assuming that a man is disloyal because he is of German, Italian, Japanese, or Russian descent. The FBI officials think it better simply to investigate and punish cases of illegal and disloyal acts and not to publish guesses about the number of Fifth Columnists.

Various Activities

In dealing with this problem, it is more useful to recognize the activities of Fifth Column groups than to know their number. In what ways do Fifth Columnists work against the interests of the United States? Here are a few of their more important activities:

1. Acts of sabotage. Millions of dollars of munitions and other war materials were destroyed by explosion and fire during the World War. It is estimated that sabotage in the United States by paid German agents amounts to a total loss of \$150,000,000. Recent explosions and fires in vital defense plants suggest sabotage, although definite proof has not yet been established.

2. The stirring up of strife and disunity in America. Nazi agents in this country do all they can to encourage anti-Semitism. They stir up hatred against the Jews and play upon every class, race, or religious prejudice that exists. They fan discontent and prejudice in every possible way in order to weaken the country internally.

3. Propaganda activity. This is probably the most important weapon of the Fifth Columnists. They do everything possible to discourage American defense efforts by

branding them as "war-mongering." They play upon the emotion of fear by depicting the horrors of war and hold out economic promises by holding out hopes of a booming trade between the United States and a German-dominated Europe. They encourage complete neutrality on the part of this country, realizing that complete neutrality would tend to weaken Great Britain.

It should not be assumed, however, that persons are Fifth Columnists merely because they advocate policies which would benefit Germany and Italy. There are many people who honestly oppose aid to Britain and other policies on the ground that such a course will involve this country in war. Thus caution must be exercised in order to avoid branding patriotic and loyal citizens as Fifth Columnists because of the position they have taken on certain issues connected with foreign and domestic policy.

It must be pointed out, too, that the dictatorship countries are not the only ones which carry on propaganda activities in this country. The British are as active as any other in their attempt to influence American public opinion.

What Is Being Done

Our next question is: What is being done to combat the activities of the Fifth Column? Responsibility has been officially turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, an agency of the United States Department of Justice. The President last spring designated the FBI as the law-enforcement agency charged with handling Fifth Column activities.

The Dies Committee, appointed by the House of Representatives, also investigates all kinds of un-American activities. There has been friction lately between this committee and the FBI. Chairman Dies declares that the FBI has been slow in prosecuting subversive acts after they have been committed. Attorney General Jackson replies that the FBI has been thwarted because the Dies Committee has stepped in and published charges prematurely, thus

making it possible for persons under investigation to cover up their tracks.

It is, of course, a well-known fact that the FBI is one of the world's greatest detective and enforcement agencies in the world, and its record has been a source of pride to the American people. There is no doubt a place for it and for a congressional fact-finding committee as well. The *New York Times* describes as follows what it considers the proper place for each at the present time:

The function of the Dies Committee should be to sharpen the awareness of the American people and nothing more. The work of watching and catching totalitarian schemers can be left to the Department of Justice, which is keeping alert eyes on them and accumulating the necessary evidence in its files.

Combating the Fifth Column

What can the American citizen, interested in the safety and welfare of his country, do about Fifth Column activities? The editor of *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER* went to the offices of the FBI in Washington before this article was written, and asked that question. Here is the FBI's reply:

"Maintain poise and balance. Obtain facts so far as possible about the problem, but don't become hysterical. Don't allow the Fifth Column danger to breed suspicion among Americans.

"Don't try to take over the duties of the government's enforcement officials. Don't try to enforce the law yourself. Don't join vigilante committees, which take the law into their own hands and take action against members of the community whom they suspect.

"If you suspect anyone of unlawful activities or of being an agent of a foreign government, turn the evidence over to the FBI or your local police.

"If your work is of such a nature that you have come into possession of facts which foreigners should not have, be discreet in talking about them.

"Use your influence to strengthen your local police force, for the government depends to a great extent upon local enforcement agencies.

"Be a good citizen yourself. Try to improve conditions in your community and the nation, for the better governed we are, the harder it will be for subversive influences to do effective work."

References

"Yes, We Have Fifth Columnists," by Edmond Taylor. *Reader's Digest*, October 1940, pp. 41-44. The writer tells "how to recognize—and avoid aiding—enemies in our midst."

"Americans vs. Fifth Columnists." *Survey Graphic*, November 1940, pp. 545-550. Eighteen prominent people answer the question, "What can we do . . . to identify and counteract the Fifth Column . . . ?"

Three articles in the November 1940 *Fortune* (pp. 85-93) and one in the magazine's October issue (pp. 46-51) describe the workings of various foreign groups in the United States.

"Enemies Within Our Gates," by J. Edgar Hoover. *The American Magazine*, August 1940, pp. 18-19. The chief of the G-Men relates some of the activities of his agents in combating Fifth Columnists.



THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
A portion of the fingerprint files section of the Identification Division of the FBI.

Is This Our War? - A Momentous Issue



THE GIRL HE LEFT BEHIND
BISHOP IN ST. LOUIS STAR-TIMES

Is this really our war? Should the United States continue to assist the British? Should the assistance be extended? Should this country determine to use such methods as may be necessary to prevent German victory, or should we avoid measures which threaten to bring us into the war, even though, by staying on the sidelines, we might make German victory possible?

These questions have been debated a great deal, but they have not been decided. The course our government is to take has not been definitely determined. The choice before us is a fateful one. A mistake may be disastrous. Seldom in our history have we faced such a momentous decision.

The editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER plan within a few weeks to devote a number of the paper chiefly to this great issue. Meanwhile, they hope that readers of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER will study the problem from many angles and that they will read widely about it and discuss it thoughtfully. There follows reference to a number of magazine articles, books, and pamphlets dealing with the subject from different points of view.

Bibliography

"Beyond German Victory," by Helen Hill and Robert Agar (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. \$1). The authors of this book argue earnestly that Britain's war is our war. Should Hitler defeat the British, he will then turn on the United States; and, quoting Hitler's own words, the authors contend that Germany is intent upon nothing short of world domination. Their convictions on this score are so strongly held that they take the extreme view of urging, in substance, an immediate declaration of war against Germany by the United States.

"Is This Our War?" *Town Meeting*, Bulletin of America's Town Meeting of the Air. Vol. 6, No. 1; November 18, 1940. A symposium by Col. Henry Breckinridge, Anne O'Hare McCormick, Mary W. Hillyer, and Kingman Brewster, Jr. Col. Breckinridge argues that the recent alliance signed by Germany, Italy, and Japan is aimed straight at the United States. By helping Britain to the utmost, we are merely defending ourselves. Miss Hillyer asserts that the war Britain is fighting is not our war and that if we are really interested in preserving and promoting democracy, we ought to begin at home by dealing with our own problems. Mrs. McCormick says that by giving aid to Britain we gain much-needed time to build our own defenses. Kingman Brewster, Jr., seems to think that we were unable to set the troubles of Europe aright when we last tried it, so we should cry out—"put America first."

"Strategy with a One-Ocean Navy," by Captain William D. Puleston. *Atlantic Monthly*, December 1940, pp. 707-711. A factual and unemotional discussion of American naval strategy as affected by possible outcomes of the European war.

"The Way to Help the Allies," *New Republic*, June 17, 1940, pp. 813-814. The editors of this journal, once outspokenly

isolationist, advocate all possible material aid to Britain.

"America and a New World Order," by Graeme K. Howard (New York: Scribner's. \$2). The author of this volume is opposed to a policy of American intervention. He assumes that the United States would have little to fear from a Europe that is dominated by a Nazi Germany. The new world that will emerge from the present conflict will consist of several major regions, each with limited aims, and each capable of fitting into a 12-plank platform which he proposes for American foreign policy.

"Money for England," *New Republic*, December 2, 1940, pp. 743-744. The editors of this journal contend that if Britain is running short of funds, we should continue to supply it with munitions as an outright gift. The cause of democracy, they say, is at stake. England is fighting our battle for us. In that case, it is unthinkable that financial circumstances should be allowed to stop the movement of supplies. Why should we not pay for at least a great part of these munitions out of our own funds, the editors ask, and call it insurance against being obliged to fight Hitler in this hemisphere?

"Should We Help the British Now?" *Current History*, July 1940, pp. 27-31. A debate between Dr. Frederick L. Schuman and Norman Thomas. Dr. Schuman argues that a policy of isolation will eventually place the United States in the same desperate position in which Britain now finds itself because it too thought, at one time, that it could live secure despite the aggressions of the fascist powers. Mr. Thomas argues that further American aid to Britain would surely involve us in war and that our participation would spell the death of democracy at home.

"America to England," by David L. Cohn. *Atlantic Monthly*, August 1940, pp. 154-158. The author asserts that the aid we have already given to Britain has virtually placed us at war with Germany. Should Germany conquer Britain, we shall face a ruthless coalition of powers engaged in a world-wide revolutionary movement. There is, he feels, but one choice left us; to help Britain with all our power, even if it involves a technical declaration of war.

"Help Britain Win," by Freda Kirchwey. *The Nation*, August 10, 1940, pp. 105-106. Miss Kirchwey points out that after all it is against Nazi aggression that we are

it would be wise for the United States to enter immediately into a military alliance with Great Britain, a step which would assure our obtaining the British fleet no matter what happens.

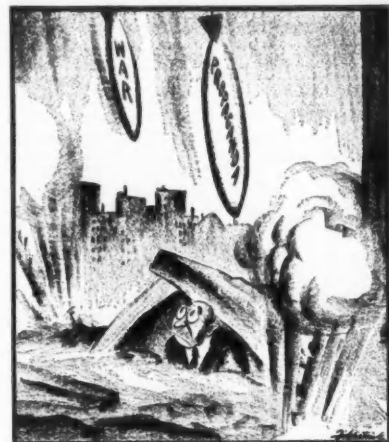
"America's Choice Today," by William T. Stone. *World Affairs Pamphlets*, No. 9 (New York: Foreign Policy Association. 25 cents). This excellent pamphlet does not plead a cause so much as it seeks to appraise America's situation in world affairs. Mr. Stone deals with such topics as the probable effects of a Nazi victory in Europe, the military and strategic consequences of a German victory upon the United States and the Western Hemisphere, and the alternatives that face the American people today.

"Common Sense for Americans," by Upton Close. *Living Age*, August 1940, pp. 508-513. Mr. Close here challenges what he calls "clichés." He denies that the British navy has protected the United States or the Monroe Doctrine. The United States is quite capable of defending itself. As for helping Britain, our participation in the war would solve none of Europe's problems.

"Some Aspects of Foreign Policy," by Arnold Wolfers. *Vale Review*, Autumn 1940, pp. 16-33. The writer discusses the problems that would confront the United States if the British are defeated. Without advocating either the extreme course of American entrance into the war or yet complete isolation from the affairs of Europe, he suggests a realistic policy that will allow for many eventualities.

"Europe's War and Our Democracy," by Harry Elmer Barnes. *Virginia Quarterly Review*, Autumn 1940, pp. 552-562. An outright advocate of American isolation, Mr. Barnes asserts that the United States is befuddled by myths, including the belief that the British-Axis struggle is a war over democracy or dictatorship. The United States, he argues, would not be especially menaced by the defeat of Britain. There is slight danger, if any, of America's being invaded by a victorious Axis.

"Not Enough Jitters," by Bruce Bliven. *New Republic*, August 12, 1940, pp. 208-209. The great majority of Americans, in the opinion of the writer, are far too complacent over the European war. Hitler wants to conquer the United States and every other country precisely as he has conquered and subjugated all his neighbors. It is therefore essential to help Britain hold



AMERICAN FRONT
FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

"The Irresponsibles," by Archibald MacLeish. *The Nation*, May 18, 1940, pp. 618-623. Mr. MacLeish believes that the disorders of our time are essentially a revolt against the culture of the West. He charges the writers and scholars of our time with at least a share of the responsibility for the current devastation and, by implication, calls upon the United States to take its part in the struggle for civilization.

"The War and the Americas," by Howard J. Trueblood. *Survey Graphic*, August 1940, pp. 424-427. With a great array of figures, the author shows how the war in Europe has affected not only the United States but all the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

"The War and America," by Elmer Davis. *Harpers*, April 1940, pp. 449-462. Mr. Davis, in this article, answers a good many of the questions that are constantly raised in discussions concerning America's part in the war. He does not advocate immediate entrance into the war. Neither does he believe that we ought to refrain from taking certain steps merely because they carry the risk of involvement. What the United States must do, he insists, is to decide upon every move by asking whether it serves America's interests. The decisions that we make cannot be intelligent if they are based on panic and hysteria instead of logic and calm analysis.

"The City of Man," by Herbert Agar, Frank Aydelotte, G. A. Borgese, Herman Broch, Van Wyck Brooks, Ada L. Comstock, William Yandell Elliott, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Christian Gauss, Oscar Jaszi, Alvin Johnson, Hans Kohn, Thomas Mann, Lewis Mumford, William Allen Neilson, Reinhold Niebuhr, Gaetano Salvemini (New York: Viking. \$1). In this joint declaration of faith, a group of prominent writers and thinkers address themselves to the American public on the basic question of the role that the United States is to play in the reshaping of the western world. They are convinced that the triumph of fascism in Europe would spell the end of peace and decency throughout the entire world and that it is America's duty to prevent that triumph by every means at its command.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Antonescu (ah-n-toe-nesh'koo), Bogotá (boe-goe-tah'), Chungking (choong'king'), Codreanu (koe-dray-ah'-noo), Laos (lah'oz—o as in go), Lima (lee'-mah), St. Cyr (san' seer'), Santiago (san-tee-ah'goe), Thailand (ti'lahnd—i as in ice), Wang Ching-wei (wahng' ching'-way'), Weygand (vay'gahn').

Information Test Answers

American History

1. (d) Jefferson Davis. 2. (b) Richmond, Virginia. 3. Hawaii. 4. The *Monitor* versus the *Virginia* (Merrimack), Hampton Roads, March 9, 1862. 5. In 1867, when Alaska was purchased from Russia. 6. (a) Its arsenal. 7. "Copperheads."

Geography

1. Hungary. Admiral Nicholas Horthy is regent. 2. (d) Brenner. 3. (c) New Zealand. 4. (b) Tibet. 5. Haiti. 6. (d) A Mongolian desert. 7. (c) Japan.



WITH BOTH BARRELS
ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST

building a huge new fleet and spending billions for rearmament. It is therefore the advisable course to help Britain and thus gain time to expand our own defense resources.

"Fifty Thousand Airplanes," by F. Russell Bichowsky. *New Republic*, June 24, 1940, pp. 848-849. Mr. Bichowsky points out that if Germany should win the war she could not attack us if the British fleet is still in being and on our side. If the British fleet is turned over to Germany as a price of victory, Germany could attack us in a short time. In the circumstances,



NOT CHANGING YOUR MIND, ARE YOU, UNCLE?
RAY IN KANSAS CITY STAR

out as long as possible while we in this country strengthen our own weapons.

"Total Defense," by Clark Foreman and Joan Raushenbush (New York: Doubleday, Doran. \$1.25). This volume suggests the complex problems that would confront the United States in Latin America if Britain should be defeated by the Nazi forces. With quite a display of statistics, the authors show that the United States, seeking to struggle singlehandedly against an aggressive, swift-moving and ruthless dictatorship, would find itself at a tremendous disadvantage.